

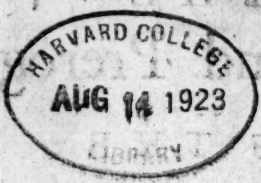
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THE
Honour and Prerogative
OF THE
QUEEN's Majesty
Vindicated and Defended
AGAINST
The Unexampled Insolence of the
Author of the *GUARDIAN*;
IN A
LETTER
FROM A
Country Whig
TO
Mr. STEELE.

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Hayes Fund

Vindicated and Defended

AGAINST

The Unimpaired Intolerance of the
Author of the G. W. D. M.

IN A

LETTER

FROM A

CONTENDING

THAT

MR. G. W. D. M.

FORWARD

Printed by the
Harvard University Press

T H E
Honour and Prerogative
O F T H E
QUEEN's Majesty

Vindicated and Defended, &c.

S I R,

I Am an Old Whig, and I dwell in a populous part of the Country where our Conversation is with publick Affairs in proportion to our Capacity, as it is with you in *London*. We have our Intelligence from Abroad as well as you, tho' a Post or two later: As to the Court, the Government, the Ministry, and the publick Administration; the Peace, the War, &c. we hear the Result of Things, tho' we see them not in Agitation; and we converse with our Friends from the Army and Fleet, our Members of Parliament, and other Friends in the Receses and Intervals of their Campaigns and Sessions, and are sometimes inform'd from them of the Reasons of Things, and how you in the City go on.

We have Whig and Tory among us as you have, only I think, if there is any Difference, we are blessed with a little more Temper here than you are at *London* in our Party-Disputes, and we do not let our Debates of these Matters break into our Conversation, much less into our Charity and Friendly Neighbourly Behaviour one to another, as we hear it does among you at *London*.

In this mannerly sociable way of Converseing one with another, we have been very much beholding to your diverting Paper ; for frequently, when any two or more of our Neighbours began to be warm in their settling the State, and the rest of us have apprehended that it might go too far ; you have been our Cure for those Excursions, and the rest would cry, *Come have done with these Things*, adjourn your Debate till you have more Temper, *Come, let us read the Guardian* : Then the Musick of your Tongue like *David's* Harp has allay'd the Storm, the Sea of Words would grow Calm, and the Evil Spirit of Contention went out from among us.

Nor, Sir, was it any hindrance to our Edification, that we knew very well,

1. That the greatest part of the Wit and Humour we find in your Paper was not your own. Or,

2. That you were not always an Exemplification of the Morals you recommended.

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We have had Charity enough to hide the Infirmities of our Instructors, and to take the Benefit of what was bright, without Searching too far into the Dark side of him that spoke it.

Thus, Sir, while you preserv'd the Neutrality of your Paper, and wisely avoiding to engage in the Party-strife of the Age applied your self to be both profitable and pleasant to all sides; every Body valu'd and lov'd you, and you were made useful, both to the Delight and Instruction of those that read your Papers.

I freely own, I often read you with Pleasure, for we that were Whigs, as we knew you are also a Whig, valu'd our selves upon finding the Tories submitting to the Charm of your Pen, and giving an Authority to what you said, even because you said it.

But when your *Guardian* of the 7th of *August* came down among us, it is impossible to express to you the Confusion it put us all in, as well Whig, as Tory.

We Whigs were more especially Agitated with the two tormenting Passions of Shame and Grief, in your behalf. The Tories, who as I hinted above, were till now Men of Temper, and mastering themselves by good *Manners* and Neighbourly Behaviour, would sometimes suffer you to be Moderator among them; now flew out into a just Rage, and upbraided us all with what, till now, we had kept them off

off from (*viz.*) That it was the Principle of the Whigs to Insult the Government.

We that are Whigs here in the Country having been strangers to such things as these, began to question with our selves, whether we were right Whigs or no. It was always our Principle, that we had a right to our Constitution. That the just Execution of the Laws was our Property. That to Invade or Dispencc with them by Arbitrary Power was an Act of Tyranny, and might be legally opposed. We believ'd the Parliamentary Limitation of the Crown, lawful and just, and that the *Illustrious House of Hanover* are rightfully and legally Heirs *in Tail* of the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms, and that by Vertue of this Parliamentary Limitation, the Queen whose Right is also Hereditary is our only rightful, lawful and undoubted Sovereign.

Yet it was always our *Practise* as *Whigs*, and we believ'd it our Duty as *Englishmen* to submit to Her Majesty's just Government, to recognize Her Authority, and to pay the utmost Duty and Regard to Her Person. And however we may not have been of those who have the most approv'd the Measures of the present Managers, or been glad of the Removal of the last; yet we never thought it our Business to assault the Ministry, *who act*, in the publick Administration, much less to attack the Queen's Person with Indecencies

cencies and undutiful Behaviour of any kind: Submitting to the Government which we live under, we pray'd for better Times; that God who guides the World would direct Her Majesty to such Measures as should Issue in the Good of Her People, the Safety of Religion, and his own Glory: And tho' we were none of the Forwardest for a Peace, things standing as we were told in such a Posture, that a War might have been more to the general Advantage; yet as Her Majesty thought otherwise, Peace is always desirable to trading Nations; and trusting in Her Majesty's Wisdom and Her Care for the good of Her People; We, tho' *Whigs*, acquiesced in the Peace, always allowing the Queen had an undoubted Right by the Constitution to make Peace and War without being accountable for the Conditions.

The Tories indeed used to upbraid us with being Turbulent, Uneasy under Government, of Commonwealth-Principles, Lovers of Faction, and I know not what; but our Behaviour testifying for us, that we liv'd agreeable to the abovesaid Principles; we always justified those Principles by our Practise, and they began to entertain differing Notions of us, by the Moderation and Temper which they found we behav'd with; inso-much that many of those who were call'd Tories became moderate on their side also, acknowledging that they were no Enemies
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to Liberty if rightly stated ; that in a due Medium between the Prerogative of the Crown and the Property of the Subject consisted the true Felicity of Government, and that the due Execution of the Laws was the only Safety of all our Estates.

Thus Moderation in Principles acting both sides, our Differences lessen'd every Day, and Charity began to take place ; though we have many Tories, yet we have no Jacobites among us ; and we differ'd with less Heat than we find you do at *London* by a great deal. Nor, Sir, could all the Party-writers of the Town enflame us, but we began to look upon them with the just Contempt which Incendiaries deserve.

It is you alone that have spoil'd all this Harmony ; you alone, Sir, was able to do it ; you that had obtain'd the good Opinion of both sides, you that were, *as above*, our constant Moderator, you who our affected Wits and Politicians stood in awe of, and who we that are Whigs boasted of ; you alone have blown up all our Society, made your Friends ashamed of you, made the moderate Men hate you, and the warmer Tories triumph over us in your Infirmary. Now they upbraid us with the *Guardian* ; they tell us 'tis in the Nature of a Whig to be ungrateful, to insult their Sovereign, to fly in the Face of Government, and to trample upon the Prerogative of the Crown ; Then they shew us
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the dreadful Paper you have writ. Here, say they, read your Oracle, your *Guardian*, your Favourite ! see how the Villain treats the best of Sovereigns, the best Mistress to him, whose Bread he has eaten, and who has kept him from a Goal ! Read it again, say they : Put it into *English*, said a Neighbour mine to me, come make the best of it ! then he reads the abominable Language as follows ;

‘ The *British* Nation EXPECT, &c. And again, The *British* Nation EXPECT the immediate Demolition of *Dunkirk*. And a third time, with a Tone of threatening, The *British* Nation EXPECT it. See the *Guardian*, August 7, 1713.

I would fain have pleaded for you, that this was not to be understood to be spoken to or pointed at the Queen, but to the People of *Dunkirk*, and I search’d the whole Paper for something to have brought you off with that way.

But it would not do, they laugh’d at me : How could it be spoken to him, say they ? his Memorial is to the Queen, and if it should be directed to Monsieur *Tugghe* it would be still worse ; for that would be to talk thus to him, viz. What do ye Petition the Queen for ? We tell you, *The British Nation* will not suffer it, the Queen dares not do it, for the *British Nation* EXPECT it be immediately Demolish’d. This stop’d my Mouth indeed, with respect to that part of the Ex-

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cuse, and then they went on with me: Come, says my Neighbour, if you cannot put it into words, I'll do it for you.

' *The British Nation EXPECT the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk.*

We all know Her Majesty has Possession of *Dunkirk*, and tho' the work is to be done by the *French*, Her Majesty may appoint the Day. Now, says he, read the words.

What is it but thus?

' *Look you, Madam, Your Majesty had best take care that Dunkirk be Demolish'd, or else, &c.*

And again ;

' *Madam ! WE EXPECT, and we would have you take Notice that we expect it, that Dunkirk be Demolish'd, and that immediately.*

Just thus an Imperious Planter at *Barbadoes* speaks to a Negro Slave, ' Look you, ' Sirrah, I expect this Sugar to be ground, ' and look to it that it be done forthwith. 'Tis ' enough to tell you I EXPECT it, or ' else, &c. and then he holds up his Stick at ' him, Take what follows.

With what patience, Mr. *Steele*, can any Man read this? and with what Face could you suffer such an Expression to pass from you into the World? This has put a Damp upon the good Opinion wise Men have of you ; those that valued you before, abhor and detest you : Nay, I must be plain with you,

you, the Whigs, who have any good Meaning, think you a Traytor to them, and that you have done it to expose them; and it is in their just Defence that I write you this Letter.

Either you did this as a Whig or as a Tory; if as a Tory, then you are a Renegade and a Counterfeit; for it is not unknown to us that you always call'd your self a Whig: If as a Whig, either you thought it would please the Whigs or displease them: If you supposed it would please them, you pass'd the greatest Satyr on them in the World; describing them to be Persons who could Insult their Queen, and Affront their Sovereign in the grossest manner in the World, and accept, justifie, applaud, or be pleased with you in doing so: If you supposed it would displease them; what had the Whigs done to Mr. *Steele* that he should chuse to do a thing which he knew would (through him) be charg'd upon them? and what could he expect but that all the Whigs in *England*, who would not be thought willing to join in such an Insult of Her Majesty, and who would not be ready to fly in Her Face, would publicly disown him in it, and protest their Innocence, by expressing their Detestation of the Fact?

But this is not all——Not content with Bullying Her Majesty in the threatening manner aforesaid,

My Neighbour the Tory, I told you of, bids me read on; look here, says he, and read.

Now shall I put this into *English* for you, says he; then he reads it in his *Stile*, as follows:

‘ Look you, Madam, I must tell you,
 ‘ The People of *Britain* expect *Dunkirk*
 ‘ should be Demolish’d, and you had best
 ‘ see and let it be done, and that quickly
 ‘ too; for we know the time mentioned in
 ‘ the Articles is expired, and you have own’d
 ‘ that the Equivalent is already put into the
 ‘ *French* King’s Hand: Therefore pray let us
 ‘ have no more Excuses, but let it be done
 ‘ out of hand you had best, or else take what
 ‘ follows.

Really, Mr. *Steele*, I cannot say he does you any Wrong in the Construction, or that the Sense of your Words are at all strain’d in it; nor can you, I fear, with all your Wit and Fancy, no nor the whole Class of Assistants who write for you, put any other Gloss or Construction upon them.

And what can we say, think you, in your behalf? Or what Remedy have we as Whigs but in our own just Vindication, to declare we Abhor and Detest the Treating the Queen after such a manner? And indeed I could not but join heartily in a Proposal made by a very Honest Whig and a Dissenting Minister in our Town, with which all our Neighbours willingly closed, (*viz.*) That in token of our hearty Resentment, and as an Expression of our Concern for such an Affront

front being offer'd to the Person and Authority of the Queen, we should give it under our Hands, That it was a scandalous Contempt put upon Government it self, an undutiful Behaviour to Her Majesty, and an unexampled Insolence and Ingratitude in the Author of the *Guardian*, who at the same time is entertained in Her Majesty's Service, and eats Her Bread, and who therefore ought to be Despised and Contemn'd by those who have any Regard to Her Majesty's Person, or pay any Duty to Her Government.

This Sentence being pass'd, hangs up in our Coffee-Room; at which time we sentenc'd your Paper to be thrown into the House of Office, and never more to be received into our Town; and, if Mr. *Steele* himself had been here, though perhaps we might have been prevail'd with not to put him in with it, yet we should not have failed to have told him he deserv'd it.

Having thus given you some Account, Sir, of our Conduct before and at this unhappy Occasion, give me leave, Sir, with as much Temper as so Infamous an Action will admit, to Expostulate with you concerning the Reason and Justice, the Honour and Prudence of this preposterous Step which you have surpriz'd your Friends with.

And first, Sir, tho' we that are Whigs were never for extending the Prerogative of
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the Crown too far, or so far as to have it Oppress, or Encroach upon the native Rights, Privileges and Properties of the Subject; yet neither can we approve of the Subject making open and insolent Invasions upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, but have always allow'd that as the Learned *Bracton* says in his Stating the *English Constitution*, *The Safety of Englishmen consists in a just Balance, being maintain'd between the Peoples Rights and the Royal Prerogative; and as we all allow that it is the undoubted Prerogative of the Prince to make Peace and War, so the Conditions of that Peace are entirely in Her Majesty's Power.*

It is true, the Privy-Council or the Parliament, which are the Hereditary Counsellors of the Sovereign, may, by Address, Desire or Petition, apply to Her Majesty to have such or such Things consider'd, provided for, or provided against in any Treaty; but it would be a New and Unparliamentary Language for either House, in such Representation, to use such Insulting Language as you take upon you to Print in your *Guardian*: And pray, Sir, what think you would it have look'd like, if before the Treaty the Two Houses should have come with an Address, and said abruptly as you have done?

‘ Madam! We understand You are Treating of a Peace with *France*, and we let You know

‘ know that the People of *Great Britain* E X-
 ‘ P E C T *Dunkirk* shall be Demolish’d, as
 ‘ one of the Conditions; and therefore pray
 ‘ look to it that it be done, for we tell You
 ‘ again we E X P E C T I T.

We desire to know of Mr. *Guardian* what
 he thinks Queen *Elizabeth*, who he will al-
 low was a Glorious Queen, would have said
 to such an Address?

Then suppose that after the Peace was
 made, and Her Majesty, in Obedience to
 Her Subjects, had Condition’d that *Dunkirk*
 should be Demolish’d, the Parliament, im-
 patient of Delay, should come again and Ad-
 dress thus :

‘ *Madam!* We find that though You had
 ‘ made it an Article of the Peace that *Dun-*
 ‘ *kirk* should be Demolished, yet it is not
 ‘ done, tho’ the time is Expired, and that
 ‘ You have own’d the Equivalent required
 ‘ for it is already put into the *French King’s*
 ‘ Hand; wherefore we come to tell Your
 ‘ Majesty, That we Expect it should be done
 ‘ according to the Treaty, and we Expect
 ‘ it be done quickly too, without any more
 ‘ Excuses or Delay; and therefore take Care,
 ‘ of it at Your Peril, for we tell You again
 ‘ we E X P E C T I T.

Pray,

Pray, Mr. *Steele*, be so Ingenuous as to tell me whether this be Parliamentary Language, and what You think would be the Consequence if a Parliament should Address the Sovereign in such a manner?

But if your Blushes will not suffer you to do this, then pray tell me whether, If upon such an undutiful Address the Sovereign should tell them plainly,

1. That they behav'd themselves in an Unparallel'd and Unparliamentary Way.

2. That no other Answer should be given to them till they consider'd better of their Duty, and the just Prerogative of the Crown?

And should thereupon Dissolve them, and by Declaration acquaint the Nation of the Reason of it——What think you, Mr. *Steele*, *Would* the People resent that Treatment of the Sovereign, and think those Men unworthy ever to represent a Loyal, Dutiful Nation any more, *Or would they not?*

I do not give this Simily of a Parliament's acting thus, to intimate or suggest that it is possible a Parliament of *Britain* can ever be suppos'd capable to act so by Her Majesty: But to introduce this Question to you, Mr. *Steele*, viz. That if it would look thus, and be so resented in a Parliament; How do you think it becomes you, and how does it look in a single Subject, and a Subject under such Obliga-

Obligations to the Clemency and Goodness of your Sovereign as you are? — Pray, Mr. Steele, give your self leave to think of this a little when you are in your easie Chair, and after you have stroak'd your Cat.

In the next place, Will you consider a little in what a frightful Figure you have represented all your Friends the *Whigs*, that they should be supposed to approve of your Conduct in this Matter; and how you put them under a Necessity of vindicating themselves, by protesting their Innocence, and professing their Abhorrence of so gross a Breach both of Justice and Respect?

But to come a little closer to the Point; please you to let us examine the Reason and Justice of the Thing.

1. The Reason of it. All that is pretended yet is, That there is a Paper handed about, being an Application from the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* to Her Majesty, to spare their Harbour.

What is this to the Queen? Has Her Majesty taken any one Step yet towards granting it? Why must the Queen be attack'd with such Insolence, and be told *in terrorem*, That the People of Great Britain EXPECT *Dunkirk shall be demolished*?

And what if they do expect it? and that Her Majesty, justly provok'd by this Insult,
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should answer thus, I did purpose to have it Demolished, but since you think to Terrify and Bully me into it, I think I am obliged to let such Subjects know their Duty, and that I am not to be Commanded or Threatned into it; and therefore, altho' I did not resolve to do so before, yet I have granted the *Dunkirkers* Request for that only Reason.

Should Her Majesty act thus, I demand of you, Mr. Steele,

1. What Law would Her Majesty Break, Dispense with, or Suspend?

2. What Step beyond Her Royal Power and just Prerogative would She take?

3. What would *Great Britain* owe to the Insolence of You, and the Cabal that employ'd you, for provoking Her Majesty to so just a Resentment, and what Treatment would you expect for it?

I further put a Query to you, which if you please to answer Categorically, and give just Authority for it, it will give great Light to me in the Measures of my Allowance to the Prerogative of the Sovereign.

If the Right of making Peace, and consequently the Conditions of it, are the undoubted Prerogative of the Sovereign, is it not equally in Her Majesty's Power legally to abate, dispense with, or go from any particular Article, or Clause of an Article of the Conditions of

that

that Peace after it is made, if Her Majesty thinks it fit, or thinks it fit for the Interest and Advantage of Her People, and the Person with whom that Treaty is made, shall give Consent thereunto?

If this is Lawful, then upon what Foundation of Right do you invade Her Majesty's Prerogative, in your Threatning Unexampled Libel; wherein, without acknowledging any Branch of that Right, you fly in the Face of Her Person, and tell Her, with an Air of unsufferable Insult, such as never any Parliament ever yet ventur'd to do, That the People of *Britain* EXPECT So and So, with a *non obstante* to Her Majesty's Right; as if She ought not to Deny what they however Unjustly pretend to Demand, or durst not insist upon that Right, when they expect she should give it up to a Mob?

On the other hand, if it is not lawful for the Prince to recede from any Clause or Thing agreed on in a Treaty, &c. Why then should we accept the Privilege, and expect the *French* King should consent to it, which is granted us to send Two Ships containing One thousand two hundred Ton of Goods to the *Spanish West Indies*; which, tho' an invaluable Advantage to *Great Britain*, and what the *Dutch* have in vain struggled for; yet is contrary to the expresse Words and Conditions of the Treaty of Peace, which says, The Trade shall be restored to the Condition it

was in, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* of *Spain*, and which Condition Her Majesty abates, or consents to alter in favour of Her Own Subjects.

Now altho' there does not appear the least Inclination in the Government to Omit or Dispense with the demolishing of *Dunkirk*; and the Application of the *Dunkirkers*, relates only to the preserving their Harbour, not at all respecting the Fortifications; yet to tell the Queen she Shall not do it, to Threaten Her Majesty if She should dispense with it, or delay it; and to talk to Her in such a Tone as is equal to the Master's holding up his Staff or Whip to his Slave; when at the same time it is Absolutely, and by the Right of the Constitution, lodg'd in Her Majesty's Breast to do in it as She shall see Cause: This is such an Attempt, that as well as you are read in History, Mr. *Steele*, I may Challenge you to give me One Precedent for it in all the Ages of our Constitution, even the Rebellion it self not excepted.

For these Reasons, we that are *Whigs* and as careful of, and faithful to the Constitution as it is possible for us to be, yet allowing, as before, That the Right of the Sovereign and of the Subject, ought to be equally Sacred, and that the Safety of both consists in a due Balance being preserv'd between them; we can no more justify you in such an Undutiful Behaviour to Her Majesty, which is a Breach
of

of the Constitution of the People's side, than we could justify the late King *James* in his Arbitrary Invasion of the Laws, which was a Breach of the Constitution on the Crown's side.

I meddle not here with the Question it self, Whether *Dunkirk* shall be demolished or no? Her Majesty will, no doubt, determine that as shall be for the Advantage of *Great Britain*; only I must confront you with one Author of our own side, viz. *The Flying-Post*. When the demolishing *Dunkirk* was mentioned in one of the Heads, which Her Majesty acquainted the Parliament was agreed on for the Peace, and we in the Country thought it a Thing of very great Consequence to *Britain*, and a great Article gain'd: The said Author of the *Flying-Post*, to lessen the Value of that Article, represented it not to be of so great Consequence as was boasted; for that the *French* were making *Graveling* as strong, and would have as good a Harbour there, nay, and deeper Water than at *Dunkirk*. Now when the demolishing *Dunkirk* is to have more Stress laid upon it than ordinary, you tell us it will be removing *France* several Hundred Miles further from us, which cannot be, if the *Flying-Post* be true.

I know you will say, the Author of the *Flying-Post* is an Ignorant, Scandalous Fellow, and that what he has said may stand for nothing, but that what you now say is true. But this

this *Flying-Post* is on our side, and we should not Covet, however true it may be, to bring our selves into the Necessity of owning, while we have but two *Whig-Writers*, that one of them is a Lying Rascal, least the opposite Party should suggest it should be true of both.

I hope, Mr. *Steele*, by that time you have read thus far, you will be convinced and own your self in the Wrong; that you will make *L'amend Honorable*, as far as you are capable to do it, and humbly fly to Her Majesty's Clemency for Pardon: But how you can expect it should be granted, that you know best.

In the mean time you have done an irreparable Injury to us your Friends; and as to your own Reputation I see no Remedy or Recovery for that, but in your Repentance.

Indeed I have entertain'd some hopes of you, and have spoken it in your Favour from that known part of your Character, (*viz.*) that your Practice is just the reverse of your Instructions to others; which Character, tho' it may lose you something in the Article of your Morals, will make you full amends in that of your Loyalty to your Prince, and especially of your Gratitude to your Royal Benefactress.

You have indeed another Plea, how far it may stand you in stead I cannot judge at this Distance, *viz.* That you are not the Author of the *Guardian* only, the hand conveying it to the Town, like the Voracious Beast

Beast at *Button's*, who hands things to you as the old Priests of *Diana* did to the Oracle, and by whom again the Devil answer'd, and deluded the World.

This we always knew, and could easily distinguish by the Dulness, when Mr. *Steele* spoke in his own Language, and when another Man's. Now this will excuse you very much, when you are charg'd with any thing which has too much Wit to be your own Performance : But in Villany and Treason this will not do, since in putting off base Money, the Coiner indeed is the Original Offender ; but the Payer of it for good Silver is the Criminal, who the Law takes hold of, and will punish, unless he deliver himself, by proving who he had it from.

Good Mr. *Steele*, be so just to your Country, as to let the honest People of *Stockbridge* know who the Gentleman who they are desired to Chuse to Represent them in Parliament is, and how he has Treated the Queen their Sovereign in Print ; and tho' I know your Election is necessary to you, to Protect you from your just Debts, which you are or might be able enough to pay ; yet in generous Justice to your Country, which you have shewn great Inclination to serve in other Cases, you can do no less than let them know how the Case stands, and if they will Chuse you afterwards, none can be blamed but themselves.

F I N I S.